

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 13894

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: UR, PLOS, KN
SUBJECT: SOVIET LOS VIEWS

REF: STATE 149764

SUMMARY: SOVIET LOS NEGOTIATOR YAKOVLEV GIVES POSITIVE
READOUT OF RECENTLY COMPLETED GENEVA LOS MEETING AND
HOPES FORWARD MOMENTUM CAN CONTINUE AT UPCOMING
NEW YORK MEETING. YAKOVLEV SAID THAT SOME FLEXIBILITY
ON SOVIET MARINE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH POSITION SHOULD
NOT BE RULED OUT BUT REPEATED SOVIET LINE THAT IT IS
UP TO THE U.S. TO LINE UP SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION ON
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THIS ISSUE. YAKOVLEV SHOWED NO FLEXIBILITY ON IRISH
FORMULA AND ALLEGED U.S. TAKING TOO HARD A LINE ON
SEABED ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFFS CALLED ON SOVIET LOS NEGOTIATOR I. I.
YAKOVLEV ON JUNE 14 TO DISCUSS LOS ISSUES. FOLLOWING
ARE THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE TWO-HOUR DISCUSSION.

2. US-SOVIET BILATERALS AND G-5 MEETING PRECEDING RESUMED SEVENTH SESSION MEETING IN NEW YORK: YAKOVLEV SAID THAT COMPOSITION OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION WILL REMAIN THE SAME FOR SEVENTH SESSION. HE STATED THAT THE SOVIETS ACCEPT THE U.S. INVITATION FOR BOTH THE BILATERAL -ND G-5 CONSULTATIONS ON AUGUST 18 AND 19, RESPECTIVELY. HE THOUGHT THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION WOULD PROBABLY THEREFORE ARRIVE IN NEW YORK ON AUGUST 17. YAKOVLEV DEFINED HIS RESPONSE AS "INFORMAL," HOWEVER, SINCE A FORMAL ACCEPTANCE CAN ONLY COME AFTER AMBASSADOR KOZYREV IS FORMALLY DESIGNATED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AS HEAD OF THE SOVIET LOS DELEGATION. THIS IS EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE IN JULY. YAKOVLEV SAID THAT HE HOPED KOZYREV WOULD BE PRESENT AT THE U.S.-SOVIET BILATERAL AND G-5 CONSULTATIONS. IF KOZYREV'S WORK LOAD IN MOSCOW PROHIBITS HIS EARLY ARRIVAL, KOLOSOVSKIY WILL LEAD THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE BILATERALS.

3. YAKOVLEV SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS VERY PLEASED AT THE OUTCOME OF THE GENEVA SESSIDN. HE CONTRASTED THE PRODUCTIVE AND BUSINESS-LIKE APPROACH IN GENEVA WITH THE CONFRONTATION AND UNPRODUCTIVENESS OF THE FIFTH SESSION IN NEW YORK. HE STATED THAT THE SOVIETS, FOR TACTICAL REASONS, DO NOT WISH TO LAUD EXCESSIVELY THE FROGRESS IN GENEVA

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BUT WOULD POSITIVELY TREAT THE GENEVA SESSION AND PROSPECTS FOR THE RESUMED TALKS IN NEW YORK IN THE SOVIET MEDIA. YAKOVLEV SAID THAT HIS ARTICLE IN MAY EDITION OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNAL "MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN'" WAS PREPARED IN MARCH AS A REJOINDER TO THE RICHARD DARMAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARTICLE. HE SAID THAT HE IS NOW WRITING AN ARTICLE TO BE PUBLISHED BY APN AND ENTITLED "POSITIVE SHIFT" WHICH WILL PRAISE THE GENEVA SESSION. THE SAME POSITIVE APPRAISALS OF GENEVA SESSION AND PROSPECTS FOR UPCOMING NEW YORK SESSION WILL CHARACTERIZE TWO OTHER ARTICLES HE IS PREPARING OR HELPING TO PREPARE WHICH WILL APPEAR IN THE SOVIET JOURNAL "NOVOYE VREMYA" IN TWO WEEKS AND IN "MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN'" IN AUGUST. YAKOVLEV WAS VERY PLEASED AT THE U.S. POSITION AT THE GENEVA SESSION AND SAID THAT HIS ARTICLES, UNLIKE THOSE HE WROTE BEFORE THE GENEVA SESSION, WILL NOT SINGLE OUT THE U.S. FOR CRITICISM. HE PREDICTED THAT THE NEW YORK SESSION HAS A "FIFTY-FIFTY" CHANCE OF PRODUCING THE SAME POSITIVE RESULTS AS AT GENEVA. PUBLIC SOVIET COMMENT, HOWEVER, WILL PLACE CHANCES FOR SUCCESS AT "EIGHTY-TWENTY PERCENT" IN ORDER TO

MAINTAIN MOMENTUM.

4. MARINE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH: EMBOFFS PRESSED
YAKOVLEV VERY HARD ON THE ISSUE OF MARINE SCIENTIFIC
RESEARCH (MSR). AT ONE POINT, IN RESPONSE TO A
QUESTION, YAKOVLEV SAID THAT SOME FLEXIBILITY ON THE
SOVIET POSITION ON MSR NEED NOT BE RULED OUT AT
THE SEVENTH SESSION. HIS MAIN ARGUMENTS ABOUT
SOVIET RELUCTANCE TO AGREE TO FURTHER CHANGES WERE:
-- MAIN OPPOSITION TO CHANGES IN MSR COMES FROM CERTAIN
G-77 MEMBERS LIKE MEXICO. IF THESE COUNTRIES ARE
PUSHED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON MSR, THEN THEY WILL ASK
FOR CONCESSIONS IN AREAS OF GREATER IMPORTANCE TO
THE SOVIET UNION.
-- THE G-77 IS VERY SENSITIVE ABOUT GREAT POWER COLLU-
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SION. IF THE U.S. AND USSR SHOULD SPEARHEAD A BATTLE OVER MSR, THIS WILL INCREASE THE SUSPICIONS OF THE G-77, GIVE AMMUNITION TO ITS MORE RADICAL MEMBERS, AND SERVE TO FRUSTRATE THE LOS NEGOTIATIONS IN OTHER AREAS AS WELL AS MSR.

YAKOVLEV CLAIMED THAT MOSCOW AGREES WITH WASHINGTON IN SUBSTANCE OVER THE NEED FOR A MORE FLEXIBLE MSR PROVISION IN THE AGREEMENT. HE REPEATED THE SOVIET LINE THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM IS TACTICS. THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT OBJECT TO CHANGES IF THE U.S. CAN LINE UP SUFFICIENT SUPPORT FOR THE CHANGES. YAKOVLEV SAID THAT THE TANZANIANS HAD ADOPTED A MORE FLEXIBLE POSITION ON MSR AFTER THEY RECEIVED DIRECT BENEFITS
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FROM MSR EXPERIMENTS. PERHAPS, HE SAID, INFORMATION FROM SATELLITES COULD BE PROVIDED TO MSR OPPONENTS TO ENCOURAGE A MORE POSITIVE VIEW ON MSR. HOWEVER, HE EMPHASIZED, HERE AGAIN CARE MUST BE EXERCISED NOT TO STIMULATE DEMANDS BY THESE STATES SUCH AS FOR CONTROL OVER THH AIRSPACE ABOVE EEZS. YAKOVLEV ALSO . SUGGESTED THAT PROVISION MIGHT BE MADE FOR DELEGATIONS TO INCLUDE SCIENCE REPRESENTATIVES WHO MIGHT BE MORE FORTHCOMING ON MSR CHANGES THAN THE "POLITICIANS" NOW DIRECTING THE NEGOTIATIONS. ON MSR, AS IN OTHER COMMITTEE II MATTERS, YAKOVLEV SAID THE SOVIET UNION WAS RELUCTANT TO PUSH COMMITTEE III CHAIRMAN YANKOV BECAUSE IT WOULD REINFORCE IMPRESSION OF YANKOV'S SUSCEPTIBILITY TO SOVIET PRESSURE. YANKOV FEELS HE MUST TREND CAREFULLY. YAKOVLEV COMPLIMENTED YANKOV'S DIRECTORSHIP OF COMMITTEE III. DESPITE THE PRESSURES FROM MANY SIDES, HE SAID, YANKOV HAS DONE AN ADMIRABLE JOB IN PRODUCING COMPROMISES AND PROGRESS IN AREAS FALLING UNDER HIS COMMITTEE'S JURISDICTION. (COMMENT: WE BELIEVE SOVIETS WOULD NOT BE AT ALL RELUCTANT TO "PRESSURE" YANKOV IF THEY THOUGHT YANKOV (A BULGARIAN) COULD INFLUENCE A DECISION OF SUBSTANTIAL IMPORTANCE TO SOVIET INTERESTS. END COMMENT.)

5. SEABED MINING: YAKOVLEV HAILED THE PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN MADE AT GENEVA. HE REITERATED HIS OFT-MADE ARGUMENT THAT THE U.S., BY ASKING FOR TOO MUCH IN THIS AREA, THREATENS TO FRUSTRATE COMPROMISE AND, ULTIMATELY, EVEN THE OVER-ALL SUCCESS OF THE LOS CONFERENCE. YAKOVLEV CRITICIZED THE EEC AND ESPECIALLY THE GERMANS FOR BEING TOO TOUGH ON TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, AND THE U.S. FOR ITS POSITIONS ON ALLOCATION OF SEATS IN THE AUTHORITY AND FINANCING. YAKOVLEV WAS PARTICULARLY INSISTENT THAT THE U.S. "GIVE" ON FINANCING.

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HE SAID THAT INDIAN FORMULA ASKING NINETY MILLION DOLLARS FROM CONTRACTORS WAS OF COURSE TOO MUCH, BUT THAT THE U.S. PROPOSAL FOR "ONE MILLION" WAS MUCH TOO LITTLE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE TWO SIDES MOVE TOWARD THE SOVIET SUPPORTED COMPROMISE OF TWENTY MILLION. HE HELD THAT AT GENEVA THE G-77 ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE THE "PARALLEL" APPROACH TO SEABED MINING. HOWEVER, IF THE U.S. INSISTS ON UNDER-FINANCING THE AUTHORITY IT WILL FAIL, AND THIS IS WHAT CONCERNS THE G-77. YAKOVLEV PRAISED AMBASSADOR ALDRICH VERY EXTENSIVELY FOR HIS NEGOTIATING EXPERTISE AND REMARKED THAT IT WAS ALDRICH'S INITIATIVES AND HIS SENSE OF TIMING THAT PRODUCED THE PROGRESS ON THE SEABED ISSUE AT THE GENEVA SESSION.

6. CONTINENTAL SHELF: YAKOVLEV MERELY REPEATED THE SOVIET POSITION PRINTED IN THE MAY "MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN" ARTICLE THAT THE SOVIETS COULD SUPPORT A FORMULA THAT WOULD LIMIT EXTENSION OF THE SHELF TO ONE HUNDRED MILES BEYOND THE EZ. HE INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO OPPOSE THE IRISH FORMULA.

7. DISPUTES SETTLEMENT: YAKOVLEV STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE SOVIETS ATTACH TO BLOCKING ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH OBLIGATORY SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BY ANY MEANS. HE SAID THAT THE SOV SOVIETS LOBBIED HARD AT GENEVA FOR ITS STAND AND THAT MORE THAN THIRTY STATES, INCLUDING CHINA, SUPPORT ITS POSITION.

8. KOREAN MILITARY SEA BOUNDARY: EMBOFF ASKED YAKOVLEV IF THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAD DONE ANYTHING FURTHER ON THE KOREAN MILITARY SEA BOUNDARY ISSUE. YAKOVLEV WENT INTO A LONG INVOLVED EXPLANATION OF THE SENSITIVITIES OF THE DPRK ON THIS ISSUE. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD "PROTESTED" PRIVATELY TO PYONGYANG (BUT HE REFUSED TO DESCRIBE THE FORM OF THE PROTEST) AND REMARKED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD REITERATED TO THE KOREANS AT GENEVA THEIR DISPLEASURE

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AT THE DPRK DECISION. HE PROFESSED LACK OF KNOWLEDGE
ON WHETHER OR NOT THE SOVIET UNION IS OBSERVING THE
DPRK BOUNDARY. (NOTE: IN JUNE 6 CONVERSATION,
SOVIET MFA KOREAN DESK OFFICER FADEYEV TOLD EMBOFF
THAT SOVIETS ARE "OBSERVING" THE MILITARY SEA BOUNDARY
IN "RARE CASES" INVOLVING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
VESSELS. END NOTE.) YAKOVLEV EXPLAINED THAT, ON
ADOPTION OF THE LOS CONVENTION, THE PROVISIONS DEALING
WITH TERRITORIAL SEAS WILL "ANNUL" THE DPRK
AND OTHER CLAIMS TO SOVEREIGNTY OR QUASI-SOVEREIGNTY
OVER WATERS BEYOND THE TWELVE MILE LIMIT.
9. OTHER ISSUES: YAKOVLEV DESCRIBED THE PERUVIANS
AS THE MOST TROUBLESOME DELEGATION AT THE GENEVA
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SESSION. HE BLAMED THE PERUVIANS FOR CAUSING THE
THREE WEEK DELAY OVER APPOINTMENT OF A PRESIDENT AND
CRITICIZED AGAIN THE PERUVIAN TWO HUNDRED MILE
TERRITORIAL ZONE AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE TYPE OF
"UNILATERALISM" WHICH COULD LEAD TO FUTURE CONFLICTS

IF NOT CHECKED. YAKOVLEV SAID THAT MEMBERS OF THE
SOVIET LOS DELEGATION WILL BE BUSY PREPARING REPORTS
ON THE GENEVA SESSION AND WILL TRY TO TAKE SOME LEAVE
IN JULY AND AUGUST. HE ANTICIPATED THAT THIS APPEARS
TO RULE OUT SOVIET LOS CONSULTATIONS PRIOR TO THE
AUGUST LOS MEETING, UNLESS THEY ARE HELD IN NEW
YORK PRIOR TO THE SESSION. MATLOCK

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